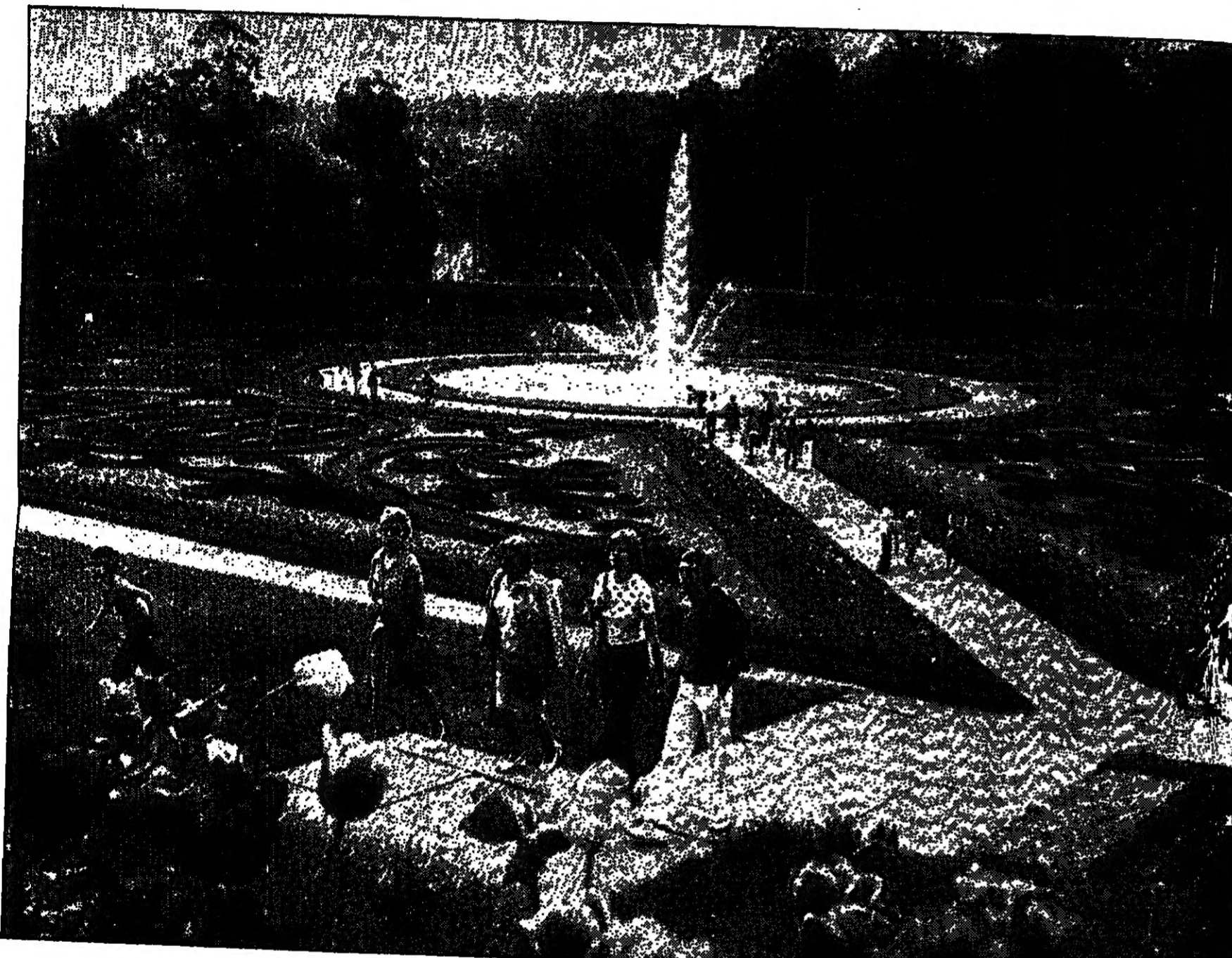


Parks in Germany

Is Germany a country of parks as well? Indeed it is. There is the magnificent Englischer Garten in Munich, the blossoming gardens around the river Alster in Hamburg, the flower beds of the German Federal Garden Show in the capital, Bonn, situated on the Rhine, and over a thousand other parks including whole forests. Again and again the landscape thickens to a park. Where a park

transcends the borders of a town and takes over the woody hills both architects and gardeners sail with the wind. A good example is the Gruga Park in Essen, in the Ruhr area: it was laid out in 1929 and comprises waterworks, a botanic garden and exhibition halls. Or the Wilhelmsheide mountain park at Kassel: in its midst is the residence built in 1786 which was temporarily

occupied by Napoleon III. Or Ludwigsburg on the Neckar: a baroque palace and park and fairy-tale garden. The beautiful on the island of Mainau on Lake Constance, on the other hand, a different kind: here the Swiss Count Bernadotte looks after gardens with Mediterranean vegetation. Why not make a tour of the parks of Germany?



Ludwigsburg
Gruga-Park/Essen

DZT DEUTSCHE ZENTRALE FÜR TOURISMUS e.V.
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UN honour a yardstick of German stature

The United Nations is an offspring of the Second World War and of hopes of a better, more peaceful world order. The rise to power of a second Hitler was to be forestalled. That was why two provisions aimed specifically at the erstwhile enemy states were included in the UN Charter. Now, 35 years later, a German has been elected president of the General Assembly. But he does not represent the German Reich, one of the enemy states in question. He represents one of the two German states that have come into being on the territory of the Reich and in succession to it. Gratified though we may be that a German has been entrusted with one of the highest-ranking honorary appoint-

ment, it is not an issue that interests the United Nations. If they were, von Weizsäcker would not be current president of the General Assembly. War guilt as the root cause of the division of Germany would still be too clearly imprinted on the collective mind. If, on the other hand, the election of a German as president of the UN General Assembly were the sole outcome of our UN membership and our renunciation of active pursuit of national unity and freedom, we should hardly have grounds for either pride or satisfaction. The Bonn Opposition long viewed UN membership as a hollow distinction; it probably does so to this day. But what might have happened if Bonn had not resolved to apply for UN membership? National unity and freedom would not have been even remotely closer prospects. Bonn would have had great difficulty in gaining greater political leeway (especially as UN membership was a result of the East bloc treaties and the policy of détente). Dependent on the United States, Bonn would have remained to a much greater extent at the receiving end in East-West disputes.

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ments world affairs have to offer, we would do well not to forget this distinction entirely. Had Franklin Roosevelt's naive hopes of a better world order been fulfilled, it is unlikely that a German would now have been granted this honour. But in their stead a development began that set seal to the division of Germany and the world and saddled sincere founder-members of the United Nations with fresh "enemies." What is more, these enemies were, unlike the Axis powers of World War II, founder-members of the United Nations too. This development testifies to the dilemma faced by both the UN and the Germans. Given the state of affairs at the United Nations the GDR's ambassador to the UN might conceivably have been voted General Assembly president instead. A country does not have to be peace-loving or boast impeccable democratic credentials for its representative to be voted into the chair at a UN General Assembly. Would we have been equally gratified if not Bonn's Rüdiger von Weizsäcker but East Berlin's Pётer Florin had been elected president? This is not to detract from the honour bestowed on either Herr von Weizsäcker or Bonn, but it must be borne in mind that Germany owes its renewed

rise to recognition and repute to the division of the world. It has also had to pay the price of a divided Germany, with both German states taking good care to be utterly reliable as partners in their respective blocs. West Germans are not alone in being someone again, to use Ludwig Erhard's phrase; the GDR has also gained international standing, albeit eclipsed by that of the Federal Republic. Are these no more than mere marginal historical reminiscences? No indeed. A number of corollaries follow, such as that the unequal German twins, eyeing one another mistrustfully at the UN, must refrain from submitting their reciprocal problems to the General Assembly. Intra-German squabbles are not an issue that interests the United Nations. If they were, von Weizsäcker would not be current president of the General Assembly.

War guilt as the root cause of the division of Germany would still be too clearly imprinted on the collective mind. If, on the other hand, the election of a German as president of the UN General Assembly were the sole outcome of our UN membership and our renunciation of active pursuit of national unity and freedom, we should hardly have grounds for either pride or satisfaction. The Bonn Opposition long viewed UN membership as a hollow distinction; it probably does so to this day. But what might have happened if Bonn had not resolved to apply for UN membership? National unity and freedom would not have been even remotely closer prospects. Bonn would have had great difficulty in gaining greater political leeway (especially as UN membership was a result of the East bloc treaties and the policy of détente). Dependent on the United States, Bonn would have remained to a much greater extent at the receiving end in East-West disputes.

For three weeks delegates to the 11th special session of the UN General Assembly, held in New York to discuss development affairs, told each other the conference could not possibly fail. It could not afford to do so, they said, because everyone was sitting in one boat, the future was at stake and so on. But their appeals were to no avail. In the end the conference produced no more than seemingly endless verbiage and reams of paper. The joint bid to scale development policy hurdles the industrialised and developing countries had set out to launch was paved with obstacles and no-one broke the tape. The reason for failure in the nature of the New York conference itself. There is



American Secretary of State Edmund Muskie (left) and Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher brief each other between sessions of the United Nations General Assembly in New York. (Photo: dpa)

In the wake of the EEC and Nato, the UN provided Bonn with a new field in which to gain an international standing consonant with its economic weight. The Federal Republic has not elbowed its way into this role; it merely came its way just as a greater say in Nato did: both on account of its own weight and as a result of a weaker US position. In Nato Bonn has shouldered this burden; at the UN it is still reluctant to do so and far from clear as to the opportunities at its command. Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher has nonetheless appreciated more clearly than either Chancellor Schmidt or the Opposition the importance of the United Nations, which nowadays is by and large a Third World forum. East-West disputes are no longer settled in Europe to any great extent, and the Bonn government is rightly opposed to a full reversion to settling East-West scores on the Continent. The Soviet Union chose to intervene

not in Europe but in Angola, Ethiopia and Afghanistan. The East-West conflict nowadays largely takes place in the Third World. So if you want to help uphold the freedom and independence of threatened nations, that is where you must do it. Bonn cannot do so with weapons, which almost invariably arrive too late in any case, but only with material assistance. And it cannot do so alone. This is why the North-South dialogue is no less important than the East-West dialogue, and it happens to take place within a UN framework. UN majorities may be unpredictable at times but they are by no means a write-off as far as the West is concerned, as the Afghanistan vote showed. Caution is advisable, especially when it comes to the developing countries' views on international economic affairs. But Bonn would be no means stand to lose by taking a more active foreign policy part at the United Nations. Dieter Schröder. (Süddeutsche Zeitung, 19 September 1980)

Session bogs down in a war of words

Little getting down to brass tacks nowadays at the UN General Assembly; instead delegates generously apportion blame and protest their own innocence. The whole sterile character of the one-country one-vote system is evident at UN divisions in which the 120 or so Third World countries almost unanimously vote against the West. At the special session, which was no exception, anti-Western majorities were

trundled out in conveyor-belt fashion by a bloc in which the plaintiff also assumes the role of judge and jury. Bonn, which in company with Washington and Whitehall stymied a number of Third World wishes, was in the sin bin as usual, having lashed out in self-defence again to the best of its ability. Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher took on this tough assignment in person. With greater emphasis than in the past he told the gathering of 153 states it was high time the socialist countries made an appropriate contribution towards development aid. The East bloc is happy to allow the West pride of place as paymaster-general. Continued on page 2

An estimated 500bn will be invested in armaments this year. Dollars or deutschmarks? You may ask. But does it really matter?

The 10 countries with the most powerful armed forces in the world include half a dozen that cannot be rated as other than developing countries.

Of the remaining four, Turkey and the Soviet Union may fairly be rated in need of development; the United States and West Germany alone can be considered developed.

A fresh round in the strategic arms build-up can be expected in the United States as a result of Moscow catching up with Washington (whereupon the Kremlin will doubtless return the favour).

What could testify more clearly to the

WORLD AFFAIRS

Guns before butter upshot of arms race madness

fearful madness that characterizes the military sector? It is a case of guns before butter all over the world even though very few countries can possibly afford both.

This, then, is the backdrop against which Mr. Muskler and Mr. Gromyko met in New York. Can the vicious circle of the arms race be brought to a halt or is it doomed to spiral on to some bitter end or other?

overcast as long as the present is upset by uncertainty.

The Polish hosts made a noteworthy gesture in allowing their West German visitors to include in their itinerary the former German Eastern territories.

The German party signally failed to respond with an appropriate gesture of its own.

All it can be said to have done is to persevere with the task of reconciliation. In view of the past, of course, that alone must by no means be underestimated.

(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 16 September 1980)

German bishops tread with care in Poland

Cardinal Höffner of Cologne says he and his party of Roman Catholic bishops discussed political issues merely in passing, as it were, in their talks with Polish counterparts.

If political issues are taken to mean recent events in Poland, this self-restraint was well-advised.

Yet despite Cardinal Höffner's protestations to the contrary, there still are substantial political differences of viewpoint between Polish and German Catholics.

They can be attributed to the past that was so often conjured in the course of what can only be termed a pilgrimage by the German bishops.

Comments by Bavarian Education Minister Hans Maier on the Oder-Neisse line did, after all, lead the Polish Catholics to stay away from the West German Roman Catholic congress in Berlin and the anniversary celebrations of Cologne Cathedral.

Professor Maier may not be a bishop but he is the highest-ranking representative of the Roman Catholic laity.

Were the bishops not briefed on Polish criticism of his comments? Ought they not to have discussed it very seriously indeed in Poland?

Cardinal Höffner is right when he says we must not concentrate exclusively on the past. But future prospects are

Continued from page 1

of development aid, and Herr Genscher felt some justification in launching his attack.

Bonn's 0.4-per-cent GNP contribution towards development aid may still be a far cry from the UN target of 0.7 per cent but it is substantially more satisfactory than the East bloc's 0.04 per cent.

In an unusually frank appeal he called on the rich oil-exporting countries to bear in mind, when pricing petroleum, the 92 developing countries dependent on oil imports who are already unable to pay their oil bills.

This year the oil exporters will earn \$50bn in exports to the Third World alone, and that is more than the Third World receives in development aid.

Everyone can work out for themselves the gloomy consequences of the oil dilemma. Per capita incomes in the poorest countries are likely to decline still further. Current hardship will grow even worse.

In the long term the industrialised countries could not hope to survive as

peaceful islands of prosperity in a sea of despair, as many speakers pointed out.

These were true words, but in view of the meagre outcome of the conference they cannot have made much impression. The view that world problems can only be solved by swift joint action was not reflected in the resolutions approved.

The conference was adjourned until next year, left everything open and, once again, turned a blind eye and a deaf ear to everything.

In the report by the UN Environmental Protection Agency and the State Department to President Carter a spate of unprecedented worldwide cooperation is said to be indispensable if imminent catastrophe, threatening millions (and maybe billions) of people is to be averted.

This considered opinion is not the view of mustard-keen world improvers or notorious pessimists but of experts who have incorporated international findings in the report.

Report 2000, like the findings of the

Never has the world seen anything like it. It used to be matter of guns and ships. Numbers were less important, since the various sides were not as well informed as they are today by terrestrial intelligence and spy satellites.

Targets can now be hit to within 200 metres from a distance of 200,000 kilometres. The Americans cannot bear the thought of being even equalled in terms of technological excellence.

America and Russia agreed by the terms of Salt 1 and Salt 2 to ceilings for intercontinental strategic missiles, but the Russians promptly made sure there was still an intermediate-range missile to which no such restrictions applied.

This category was far from tactical from a European point of view, however. Capable of hitting targets anywhere in Europe, missiles with a range of 1,000km are of strictly strategic importance to Europeans.

What is more, Nato still does not have an answer to this.

Western Europe, led by West Germany, has in all moderation taken the only

logical decision in resolving to use its missile arsenal but also concerned three years in which to do it over.

This is the time it will take to first Nato missiles to counter the SS-20s to be deployed in Europe.

But what has been the Soviet response? Russia has stepped up its arms with the result, according to the Institute of Strategic Studies, that a first 20 is aimed at Western Europe every five days (it used to be one every three days). Moscow is setting up no fewer than three additional missile systems, ranges of up to 1,000km - something of a significance given European distances.

Nato has so far not allowed itself to be perturbed by Soviet threats. It is very allowed to deploy all these without a Nato response, it would be long before they were used to small Europe.

There can already be no doubt as to the absolutely essential feature of this round of East-West talks (if the circle is to be broken).

Europe must be included in the terms of reference and preferably as a partner.

Above all, however, strategic limitations must somehow put paid to deadly technological arms race; it must not be restricted to mere numbers.

Hans-Joachim Nieme (Frankfurter Neue Presse, 18 September 1980)

Turkey a case of backing vital interests

somely, that Turkey's problems are not just the Ankara government's concern.

The list also makes a mockery of Western claims that billion-dollar loans to bail out Turkey might salvage democracy on the Bosphorus.

In the circumstances the statement by the EEC Council of Ministers in Brussels that the Turkish junta led by General Evren must restore democracy as soon as possible is thoughtless, if not cynical.

Which democracy can the ministers possibly mean? A democracy that in its dying days cost 30 terrorist murders a day? The inability of political parties to

agree to a Presidential candidate in more than 80 polls?

Or do they mean the deep rift between rich and poor, between towns and country that neither the Egevil nor Demirel administrations were able to

With such a discrepancy between democratic claims and political reality, is it none too difficult to sympathise with the generals who have solved power for the third time (the first two were in 1960 and 1971).

Besides, the armed forces in Turkey can be compared neither with the counterparts in the banana republics of Latin America nor with fascist military dictatorships such as South Korea.

If a state of emergency and strict discipline were to be used to restore a reasonably stable domestic and foreign policy balance in Turkey, then surely suspension of Turkish pseudo-democracy would prove beneficial.

This state of affairs may be embarrassing to the West, but what alternative does it have? For geostrategic reasons Turkey cannot on any account be left to lurch.

So Herr Matthäer may well be right in suspecting that aid to Turkey is prove a never-ending task. But it is a matter of democracy then of our vital interests.

Holger Dohme (Deutsches Allgemeine Sonntagsblatt, 21 September 1980)

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THE UNITED NATIONS

Bonn man in General Assembly chair - over handicaps

Bonn has only been a full member of the United Nations for the past seven years, yet already its ambassador to the UN General Assembly.

Given the weight West Germany carries in world affairs, a German in the chair at the 35th UN General Assembly might be thought to be a matter of course.

But it can hardly be when one recalls that the UN Charter in two clauses still bans Germany - wartime Axis Germany - an enemy state. As such it is subject to special treatment.

A German at the UN's helm is like when one bears in mind that if Bonn's new Ostpolitik had not put paid to the Hallstein Doctrine in the early 70s the Federal Republic might well still not be represented at the United Nations.

So there is every reason for Bonn President Karl Carstens and politicians of the ruling Social and Free Democratic

coalition to voice satisfaction at the election of Rüdiger von Wechmar as General Assembly president.

Whether it is an occasion for jubilation, as Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher claims, is another matter. Bonn has already been saddled with heavy UN responsibilities as a Security Council member in 1977-78.

One could well argue that it is now saddled once and for all with the burden of special responsibility for an organisation that is confronted with all the world's conflicts, including the increasingly serious North-South clash.

Herr von Wechmar realised five years ago that the UN would increasingly be used by the developing countries as a means of achieving their objectives by virtue of their numerical superiority in the General Assembly.

The special session of the UN body on development affairs that has just been wound up is a case in point. At the General Assembly special session

Von Wechmar a personal choice of many

expression that at United Press in pre-deutschmark days he earned a salary of 800 reichsmark and two cartons of cigarettes.

After a spell as Eastern Europe correspondent for ZDF, the second channel of West German TV, he finally switched sides to work as press spokesman for the Social and Free Democratic Bonn government of Chancellor Willy Brandt

After a three-week marathon extended more than once the 11th special session of the UN General Assembly in New York has ended with a mixed bag of results.

Its brief was to intensify the North-South dialogue, draft a development strategy for the 80s, embark on a global dialogue on problems between industrialised and developing countries and draw up an agenda for the current decade.

Consideration was also given to a programme of immediate aid to the poorest developing countries proposed by UN secretary-general Kurt Waldheim.

Two resolutions were passed. The first related to the \$5bn Waldheim programme of immediate aid to the Third World; the second stressed the critical situation the poorest developing countries face and proposed a 100 per cent increase in aid from donor countries by 1985.

The UN development strategy for the 80s was largely completed but has been referred to the full session of the General Assembly.

The global dialogue, which was to have been held as part of a nine-month special conference next year and supervised by a new, special UN body with wide-ranging powers in New York, has been called into question.

Bonn, Washington and Whitehall do not agree with other UN members and the compromise they have accepted on the powers of the UN Conference on Global Negotiations with regard to UN

the rich and the poor were unable to reach agreement on either procedure or the agenda of so-called global talks to help narrow the prosperity gap between North and South. The newly-elected president of the General Assembly thus faces a tough assignment over and above any other trouble he may have to preside over. At the ordinary session of the UN body he will have to try and smooth the path towards North-South compromise. So Bonn is fortunate in being represented by the Baron, as Herr von Wechmar is known in the United States.

He is one of its most capable diplomats, a former journalist and press spokesman for the Brandt administration and a man with an inimitable ability to combine tact and tactics.

He can be as charming as he is firm in the views he holds. In his opening speech he was critical of his own government, leaving little doubt that he expected his affluent fatherland and other highly developed countries to make serious North-South compromise bids.

This criticism testified to the independent outlook he has felt able to maintain despite being for so long dependent on instructions from Bonn.

"Progress at the UN," he is on record as saying, "can be measured in centimetres at best, whereas a lengthy yardstick is needed to read off the degree of disappointment."

In addition to these qualities he will need the patience of a watchmaker, a precision engineering trade he learnt many years ago as an American prisoner-of-war.

Hans-Herbert Gaebe (Frankfurter Rundschau, 18 September 1980)

Aid for poorer nations given priority

special agencies such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. The issue at stake is whether the UN and the proposed special conference are to have the last word on crucial subjects such as international monetary reform, world trade, development aid and energy or UN agencies such as the IMF are to retain their present powers.

At the United Nations every country has one vote, so the Third World countries predominate, whereas in UN special agencies the industrialised countries hold the upper hand by virtue of holding votes in proportion to their capital investment.

The compromise solution envisaged by the UN conference next year supervising and coordinating global negotiations.

A package of agreements on major development issues and moot points in North-South talks was, however, only to be passed jointly by all UN member-states.

In other words, the industrialised countries would practically have enjoyed a veto, but America, Britain and Germany felt this was not enough.

They feared the terms of reference of the IMF and other, previously fairly in-

dependent UN agencies might be undermined.

In drafting a development strategy for the 80s delegates agreed on the following points:

- Industrialised and donor countries are wherever possible to step up development aid to 0.7 per cent of GNP by 1985. This target is to be reached by the second half of the 80s at the latest and followed by a one-per-cent target for which no deadline was set.

- Third World growth in real terms is to average seven per cent in the 80s. This would mean economic growth in the developing countries at a much faster pace than in the industrialised world so as to help bridge the gap between rich and poor.

- Development and expansion of energy resources must be encouraged to help the developing countries and foster growth in world trade. The industrialised countries are called on to step up energy measures.

- The UN development strategy is to advocate an open system of world trade and protection of private investment all over the world.

- Strategy for the 80s will have to be passed by the General Assembly in ordinary session. What matters is for aid and growth percentage targets not to be declared binding.

- The donor countries merely undertake to redouble their efforts to reach the targets set.

Peter Häber (Hannoversche Allgemeine, 16 September 1980)



The chairman of the 35th General Assembly, Rüdiger von Wechmar (right) with UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim. (Photo: dpa)

Paradox of involvement in general election

The dispute over church involvement in the election campaign is full of contradictions and paradoxes.

While the discussion over the form of the Catholic pastoral letter soon supplanted the debate over the issue itself, there is a tug-of-war in progress now among the Protestants between all sorts of anti-Strauss pro-Schmidt initiatives and those favouring strict neutrality.

And those who only just rejected one intervention as inadmissible suddenly welcome statements to the opposite effect.

The whole dispute would have been unthinkable if Germany's political tradition did not have a curious penchant for higher, authoritative attitudes.

Even anti-clerical elements welcome spiritual blessing for their critical attitudes.

It is thus indicative and consistent that the chairman of the Campaign Arbitration Committee, is a bishop. As a result, there is something ambiguous

and dishonest about the hectic discussion over the churches' attitudes.

But what is the actual situation concerning the relationship between church and State, between theology and politics and between authority and citizen?

It is not enough to say that the church should look after its basic values while the politicians go about the business which only they thoroughly understand.

Such a simple division of labour, which Chancellor Schmidt has promoted time and again by quoting the somewhat worn Max Weber maxim of the antithesis of the ethics of conviction and those of responsibility, makes both spheres irrelevant — morals due to incompetence and politics due to lack of moral values.

In view of the loss of credibility of our parliamentary politics and its sterile polarisation, the arrogance of politicians regarding such interventions that call for

a return to the very substance is quite out of place.

There is much to be said on this issue — on the style and honesty of the campaign and on the neglect of specific issues because they have been supplanted by selfish interests.

The true questions are: how informed, sound and comprehensive are the admonishments? And who speaks in whose name?

The crux of the democratic process lies in the fact that the complexity of ethical and political challenges must in the end be reduced to a single stand in favour of one party, despite all possible reservations.

The pragmatic fence sitting with regard to any party must give way to an either/or in favour or against a party.

This unavoidable structural falsification of reality due to simplification cannot be perceived with a sweeping claim to truth.

There is a remarkable difference between the two churches. While the official Catholic Church clearly puts all its authority on one side of the scale, the official Protestant Church wants to avoid such an unequivocal stance. As a result, it disapproves of the initiatives of individuals groups. Both attitudes amount to different pseudo solutions to the same dilemma.

Why should people be prevented from speaking in their own name and publicly stating why they exercise their option the way they do, based on a specific and fundamental ethical position — provided their argument is matter-of-fact and mature and they are prepared to put it forward in a critical debate?

Problems only arise when the authority places itself above the citizen and when its stance is orientated by a party rather than the problems at hand and when the dialogue is replaced by an authoritative verdict.

In view of the dynamism inherent in campaigns, there is of course the question as to whether it is worth starting such a dialogue in the last couple of weeks of the campaign.

A closer look at the statement of the voters' initiative on the national elections of "the Protestant Christians", which has been censured as "leftist", we see that this also contains critical elements towards the SPD.

But all that remains in the polarisation

Continued on page 5

Outspoken bishop first and foremost a pastor

From 1971 to 1978 he was the Catholic military bishop.

These stations of his life are incomplete and say little about the man who — though this was frowned upon — saw fit to learn Polish in order to exercise his function as a pastor for Poles.

Bishop Hengsbach, an ardent fan of the Schalke soccer team and a beekeeper, has never beaten around the bush when he thought it necessary to speak up in order to solve social problems. He thus spoke up against the controversial Liberation Theology (which he considered Marxist), against liberalisation of the abortion law and — together with the Protestant clergyman Karl Immer — in favour of a meaningful use of nuclear energy.

It is also part and parcel of the man that he offered to act as a go-between in



Popular ... Bishop Hengsbach

(Photo: Sven Simon)

connection with the kidnapping of the Essen businessman Albrecht and that he keeps popping up at the work places of his flock.

Henk Ohnesorge

(Die Welt, 10 September 1980)

THE PRESS

Council split on tabloid ethics case

Journalists and publishers of the German Press Council have clashed in Berlin over the assessment of the reporting practice of the tabloid *Bild*.

Although the ten journalists on the Press Council (an independent instrument of the German press) voted a draft resolution censuring the "methods of its sensationalising journalism" and failed to pass necessary two-thirds majority, they lashed the draft resolution in their criticism as the journalist members of the Council.

The publishers on the Council this "attempt at undermining the statutory provisions of the statute", "serious test" for the Council.

Statutes provide that only adopted solutions may be made public.

The controversy was sparked by a dispute during the two-day session in whether several previous Council decisions to censure *Bild* on individual incidents should be made the basis of an overall assessment of the reporting practice of the Axel Springer tabloid.

Journalists among the Council members told a press conference that they did not consider it necessary to put the paper once more to comment on accusations since this was an assessment that included the incidents on which the paper had been heard earlier.

The nine publishers on the Council who were present (they, too, have members) held that it would have been "irresponsible" to approve of the resolution without having again heard the views of the editor-in-chief and the publishers.

The journalists' move was censured by the publisher members of the Council as an unprecedented "novelty".

The journalist members stressed that the last Council session in Bonn (June) had agreed to turn the condemnation of individual *Bild* incidents into an overall assessment of the paper when the Council met again in Berlin.

And they emphasised that the censured incidents were not isolated cases due to misconduct on the part of individual staff members. Instead, they clearly revealed "practices of sensationalism".

The editorial office of *Bild*, rebutting the accusations of the ten journalists saying that they were contrary to the most primitive rules of law in a democracy. It said that this was an attempt to "turn the Press Council into a law instrument".

The Press Council had the necessary majority in Berlin to censure two incidents. After censuring *Bild's* reporting on a suicide case during its last session, the Council now lambasted the tabloid in connection with another suicide report.

The daily *Westfälische Rundschau* was censured for its report "Ponto's Murderer Nailed" because this attributed the subsequent court sentence.

Regarding the obstruction of the reporters' work during the clearing of the Gorbien borough last June, the Council called on the Minister of the Interior to take the necessary steps to ensure the unhindered work of journalists.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 11 September 1980)

THE TRADE UNIONS

Chemical workers keep on straight course

There was no veering to the left at the Mannheim conference of IG Chemie, the chemical workers union.

There was no renunciation of the social partnership approach to industrial relations and no reversion to a strategy of industrial conflict.

Karl Hauenschild, who was re-elected union general secretary, reiterated his rejection of demands for public ownership of the means of production, distribution and control.

This could only be taken as a warning aimed at Opposition ranks within the union, which took severe punishment at the conference.

Opposition spokesman Paul Plumeyer was unsuccessful in his bid to gain reelection to IG Chemie's national executive committee.

At a union conference held in the middle of a general election campaign and thus inevitably political in its ramifications, majorities had been anticipated for altogether different lines of argument.

Some of the union's rank and file were dissatisfied with the executive. There had been heated debate on constitutional issues. Controversy had raged on democracy within the union.

This was bound to happen even though what trade unions have negotiated in employees' rights over the past 30 years is substantial.

The trade unions have also gained positions of power over the years, nominating supervisory and management board members in the coal and steel industries and supervisory board directors of other leading companies.

IG Metall's general secretary Eugen Loderer, for instance, is deputy chairman of the supervisory board at Volkswagen. Trade unionists hold key positions in industrial management.

Industrial power is, by the unions' terms of reference, something they must seek to keep to within certain bounds, if not stand up and fight against.

The classic role of the working class movement is that of furthering the interests of the powerless wage-earning masses.

It is by no means dishonourable for Opposition ranks within a trade union to recall the fact. But is it, or can it be, realistic?

Robert Leicht

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 17 September 1980)

Official faces discipline over book

Yet while Manfred Wilke was doing his best to work well during his probationary period at GEW regional head office in Essen, trouble was brewing at the powerful Essen and Düsseldorf branches over his authorship of the controversial book.

Branch members were incensed by its disclosures on DKP strategy.

It is hard to say how many open or covert Communists have worked their way into influential positions in the Essen and Düsseldorf GEW branches.

Detlef Schlöpen, press spokesman for the union region, has no personal objections to the foreword of the controversial book, of which Wilke was co-author.

Branch members in Essen and Düsseldorf, he explains, merely feel the regional secretary of a DGB industrial union ought not to pursue union policies against an individual political party in this way.

There was not a union affiliated to the DGB with a clause barring Communists from union membership or activities.

Schlöpen added, however, that there

On management and supervisory boards trade union representatives must of necessity take part in the quest for compromise in management policy.

There is no need to stand on ceremony in so doing, especially as their collaboration has served the cause of social peace in West Germany.

Readiness to compromise is, after all, a *sine qua non* of wage negotiations. Maybe there is some connection between seats on the supervisory board and the ability to come to terms in wage talks.

At all events the Federal Republic of Germany is a country that is not prone to industrial disputes.

Partnership between representatives of capital and labour, which would have been inconceivable in the early days of the trade union movement, has certainly not proved to the detriment of the workers they set out to represent.

Wage- or salary-earners in the Federal Republic are not only materially better off than they were in the Reich, and credit is historically due to the post-war one-industry one-union principle.

Union leaders, naturally enough, are far from overjoyed at having to face opposition from within their ranks. Disputes and rifts would be bound to weaken the unions' position in relation to the employers.

Trade union conferences are thus not parliaments of their organisations; they are assemblies of a lobby. There is an obvious danger of democratic principles suffering as a result.

Paul Plumeyer was voted off the executive at the Mannheim conference of IG Chemie. He too was accused of far too frequent compromises with the management at Veba-Glas, where he was a supervisory board member.

This only goes to show that Opposition spokesmen can also be hoist by their particular petard. The unions have, when all is said and done, gained positions of power in the course of social partnership. As a result they are no longer the combat organisations they were intended to be in days gone by.

Jürgen Scharf

(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 15 September 1980)

Vetter hits at outburst of xenophobia

A leading trade unionist has called on union members actively to oppose xenophobia in any form.

Heinz Oskar Vetter, general secretary of the West German Trades Union Confederation (DGB) told a meeting that crimes including murder had been committed against foreigners.

Anti-foreigner slogans were to be seen and many people assumed a superior attitude towards foreigners.

All this, he told 290 delegates at the Wiesbaden conference of the commercial, banking and insurance employees union (HBV), was an alarming sign of democratic immaturity.

Trade unionists in the Federal Republic of Germany ought not only to steer clear of this type of behaviour but also be seen to oppose them. The consolidation of democracy and the welfare state and the reliability of democrats were best judged by how they treated minorities and foreigners.

Herr Vetter said the hostile acts aimed at foreign nationals of late were a dreadful development. "We called on foreign workers to lend a hand and they have helped to safeguard and extend the country's prosperity," he said.

Besides, Germany was under a historic obligation to offer a home to the persecuted. But violent clashes between extremist groups of foreigners must be combated with the full rigour of the law.

He also warned against efforts to sow the seeds of division in industrial unions with accusations of Communist infiltration. This was in effect a gesture of support for the union he was addressing.

He stressed, however, that unions must, in their own interest, take care to ensure that their inner balance and stability were maintained. Repulsive attacks from outside sources must not be allowed to rip in the bud indispensable internal discussion and clarification of viewpoints.

HBV was in a difficult stage of its development and would be well advised to seek its future in the hard work of daily trade union activities such as wage negotiations, educational and social policy.

"They," he said, "are the backbone of trade union policy, not disputes over matters of principle."

Referring to the general election campaign, Herr Vetter said the unions would continue to pursue their social policy objectives and to advocate both reform and détente.

They would comprehensively defend the interests of wage- and salary-earners. The DGB was not a section, appendage or showcase of any specific political party; it remained politically independent.

It was not, however, impartial when it came to representing the interests of the working class.

It was too easy and cheap to use Shadow Chancellor Franz Josef Strauss as a whipping boy to foster fears of fascism, he said. It also diverted attention from the real problems.

Referring to the fact that many trade unionists were members of the CDU and CSU, the Opposition parties Herr Strauss represented, he said the crucial feature of an industrial union was variety of political views held by members of the one union.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 16 September 1980)

ENERGY

Oil companies' pricing policies spawned Opec movement

Saudi Arabia has increased the price of its oil by two dollars a barrel. The general Opec price of 32 dollars a barrel has been dropped to 30 dollars, so prices are now in alignment. Decisions by Opec countries such as this are watched with bated breath by everyone. For this reason, it is a little difficult to imagine that this powerful organisation began 20 years ago merely as a defence mechanism against the mighty oil concerns. When they established Opec in Baghdad in September 1960, the oil-producing countries hoped that they had founded an instrument to work against the multinationals. But it took another 13 years before Opec came into its own.

The oil-producing countries complained when, 20 years ago, the powerful oil companies set the price of crude at one dollar a barrel. In 1959 and 1960, the posted price was twice reduced. The multinationals had gone too far, and the reaction was the establishment

Awareness of dependence on crude

The oil-producing countries were becoming increasingly aware of the Western industrialised nations' dependence on crude.

In September 1960, the government of Iraq summoned a conference of oil producing countries: Venezuela, Iran, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. The venue was Baghdad and the result of the meeting was the formation of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries.

The first conferences were still dominated by haggling over the status, the budget, the organisational structure and administrative details. The actual aim of the organisation was far from achieved — except in verbal tirades.

Essentially, Opec marked time until 1971. All that came of it were many resolutions, studies, conferences, discussions and statements. The oil price, the actual issue at stake, rose to a meagre 2.97 dollars per barrel by the beginning of 1973.

Even so, some other oil producing countries watched the development of Opec — which was anything but encouraging — with some interest.

The organisation was joined by Qatar in 1961, Indonesia and Libya in 1962, Abu Dhabi in 1967, Algeria in 1969 and Nigeria in 1971. Ecuador and Gabon and the United Arab Emirates had joined by 1974, and Opec was complete.

The development of Opec is most easily traced by looking at it in the light of the development of oil prices. The graph between 1960 and 1973 shows a gentle upward curve, as opposed to the dramatic rises we have had since 1973. Per barrel prices rose from 1.80 to 3 dollars between 1960 and 1973. As a result, Opec barely deserved to be called a cartel.

The political chasm between such moderate countries as Saudi Arabia and the radical systems in Algeria, Libya and Iraq left little scope for action.

It was not until Israel's "October War" that the moderates picked up the cudgels on behalf of the Arab cause and made Opec a force to be reckoned with.



of a concept of an oil-producing nations' cartel.

Barely half of the posted price went to the producing nation in those days, and the two cuts meant that the posted price of Saudi Arabian oil, dropped from 2.12 dollars per barrel to 1.94 dollars and later to 1.84.

As a result, Saudi Arabia's oil price fell by 17 per cent within 12 years.

These price reductions were made possible by new oil finds in Libya and Nigeria.

This was the straw that broke the camel's back — though the multinationals are not the only culprits in having brought about such a powerful organisation as Opec. If it had not been the multinationals, some other incident would have had the same effect.

Sweeping nationalisation of the oil companies gave the governments concerned the power to dictate the price of crude.

Production was reduced and an embargo imposed on Israel and its allies. Opec thus not only exerted political pressure on Israel but also created enormous demand. The price of oil trebled between 1973 and 1974, rising to more than 10 dollars per barrel.

This was due to structural changes which turned the oil market into a seller's rather than a buyer's market.

While the buyer's market had undervalued the price of oil, the seller's market drove it up. It was not governed by a reasonable profit margin but by the shortage of crude.

In the case of oil, all elements that would justify a shortage-dictated price came together: The small quantity of available crude was combined with the high degree of the consumers' dependence and the difficulty and cost of alternative energy sources.

Between 1974 and 1978, the graph shows a steadily rising price curve to the point of 13.30 dollars per barrel. Opec

showed restraint during that period, and this becomes particularly clear when viewing the price development in real rather than nominal terms, i.e. in relation to inflation rates.

Taking 1974 with its 10 dollars per bbl for Arabian light as a base and adjusting this for inflation, we arrive at a per barrel price of 8.44 dollars for 1975, 9.09 for 1976, 9.07 for 1977, 8.38 for 1978 and 7.33 for 1979.

This deflator is arrived at on the basis of data provided by the Energy Institute of Cologne University by dividing the dollar index by the OECD inflation index.

It thus meets two of the three demands put forward by the long-term strategy Commission of Opec: first, the dollar is adjusted for inflation and, second, the development of the dollar is seen in relation to other currencies.

The third demand, to peg the oil price to the growth of GNP in the industrial countries, has not been met by the deflator.

Opec price conferences of the past few years have centred around the world economy and the inflation rates in the industrial countries in particular.

The oil producing countries have been watching the recession (which was only to a small extent due to their price policy) with great care and concern.

In fact, Opec granted the industrial nations some breathing space to enable

Factions within the cartel

The difficulty of gauging the exact degree of recession that will result from the oil prices has been troubling the industrial nations, the developing countries and the Opec strategists themselves. In fact, Opec experts have been so divided on this point that several factions have formed within the cartel.

This disunity between the moderate doves and the hawks has become so pronounced that no-one knows whether Opec should be congratulated on its silver jubilee five years from now.

Right now, with the world economy showing clear signs of weakness, Opec — if it continues acting logically — is likely to show a certain price restraint and adopt a wait-and-see attitude.

then to recover from the world recession.

But the shortage effects of oil remained unchanged. Of course, by no means being altruistic, they were their own business interest guided them. After all, no cartel to bankrupt its buyers.

By the end of 1978, the world economy had not only recovered but excellent shape — apart from the fact that the dollar exchange rate was to drop. But then, US policy was geared to strengthening the dollar.

In view of this constellation, industrial nations should have been and should have realised that the oil price increases were in store.

In the past 18 months, Opec's biggest photographic show, is a publication factor for the nominal price of a medium with which we was three. This made the world my start alling again and now and yet it has reached such a peak of whether it has weathered the crisis or not, indeed, the crisis is a vision of photo-phonies. Those who do not know how to handle a camera are rapidly becoming fringe groups of our civilisation.

Though the full extent of the problems besetting the world economy, yet known, so much can be said, a few years ago mere hieroglyphics for which are struggling anyway, we hit. What meagre foreign exchange have gone into Opec coffers.

The Opec strategists obviously bigger. Chip electronics which leave the thinking to the camera, mass production (with the resulting low prices) and clever marketing strategies aimed at putting much haggling and subsequently a pitiful 2.40 dollar there was little jubilation.

An Opec Development Fund was established in the spring of 1980, a marketing strategy aimed at putting much haggling and subsequently a pitiful 2.40 dollar there was little jubilation.

The investment plans of Opec are more interesting to the Third World nations. But Opec believes in dispassionate between business and industry and so it gives priority to solvent ones.

But as long as the industrial nations show reasonable growth figures, Opec (and, of course, the North Sea oil producers) will demand their slice of the cake. Assessments of this attitude are going from anger over Opec's extortion all the way to admiration for its business acumen. Still, the prospects of being hit a new blow as soon as they are recovering from the previous one is likely to put the industrial nations in a good mood.

Opec itself has provided the map for bypassing it when it comes to the ing out the cake. It can be put in the words: fry without oil.

Of course, the sheikhs are well aware that this advice, no matter how sound, is very costly for the industrial world. The price of substituting alternative energies for oil is now (or will soon be) the same as oil itself. But the new installations — such as coal liquefaction plants and nuclear power stations — have to be built in adequate numbers and paid for. Meanwhile, policymakers in the industrial world have become aware of the problem and are trying to make up for lost time.

The American Synfuel programme is one example.

Although some of these technologies are, problematic in terms of the environment and although in some instances their prestige effect is greater than the benefits to be derived, critics should exercise restraint, bearing in mind that most of the world's oil supplies have been used up in 30 years.

Handelsblatt, 23 September 1980

BUSINESS

Exhibition demonstrates sophistication of photographic industry

seum, recording the camera owner's efforts to turn individual photographs into a mirror of his own world.

Future archaeologists will rejoice in these records: never before has there been a more telling record of everyday life.

But even so, the archaeologists will have their problems: 19th century hopes that photography would provide a faithful record have failed to materialise. As Bert Brecht put it, the situation has been complicated by the fact that "a simple depiction of a reality now tells us less about it than ever before. A photograph of the Krupp works or some other industrial giant tells us nothing about it."

An example from Cologne: during protest demonstrations against a planned autobahn, both police and demonstrators took photographs of each other to use as evidence in court. The incident thus had two photographic faces, depending on the vantage point.

It is this out and out subjective character of a photograph as a mirror of reality that has turned it into a technical art form — an art form practised and taught by Atget, Zille, von Salomon, Sander and Chargesheimer for decades.

Even writers like Jürgen Becker of Cologne have at times put aside their typewriters in favour of cameras to "write" a piece of literature with the glass eye.

Surprisingly, these artistic photographs were not recognised and traded as art until photography itself no longer required any major skill: the boom of



The trend is towards cameras that can work under water. (Photo: Messing-Gesellschaft)

the right who, in 1839 only a few months after the new invention was publicly presented in Paris, wrote in a learned magazine on art versus photography: "The camera permits us only to record reality. It knows nothing about inventiveness and free depiction of the things that move us and fire our imagination."

The change in photography from being the hobby of a few initiates to a mass occupation rebuts this view. Today, the camera has become the most important instrument in expressing imagination and emotions and in recording memories.

So the photo albums of a nation of hobby photographers are swelling with pictures of sunsets on Capri all the way to the most intimate and private sphere. They represent a wealth for which we still lack the correct terminology: photography has become a national cult and, indeed, a national culture in the best sense of the word.

Every album becomes a private museum.

Handelsblatt, 23 September 1980

Lambsdorff warning

Continuing high investment is the key to developing the economy, Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambsdorff said in Cologne.

He was addressing the opening of the Photokina exhibition.

Only with high investment can structural changes imposed on our economy from without be weathered and only thus can we preserve our competitiveness on international markets, secure the existing jobs and create new ones he said.

Preserving the positive outlook for the medium term future is, therefore, the right attitude. But such a policy calls for a steady hand. Any hasty changes could at best result in optical gags.

Count Lambsdorff said that he would therefore promote a course aimed at medium term development. This includes the reduction of obstacles to growth, a better competition system, continued anti-inflationary action, investment stimulus and anti-protectionist measures.

The minister went on to say that the application of modern technology was essential for a highly industrialised economy like the German one, which is entirely part of the world economy, if it is to remain competitive on international markets.

Especially the photographic industry, he said, has always been closely linked to technological progress. Its above average proportion of R & D to the volume of sales is a prime example of fruitful cooperation between R & D on the one hand and highly skilled labour on the other.

The minister stressed that only one in eight deutschmarks spent for R & D in this branch of industry is supplied by the state. (Handelsblatt, 13 September 1980)

Refinements keep on getting finer

A digital readout above the picture in the viewer tells the necessary exposures. The light metering is sophisticated enough to measure the light reflected from the film surface. As a result, the camera reacts to changing light conditions at the moment of pressing the trigger.

The importance Nikon attaches to ease of use is demonstrated by details: when changing film, the camera automatically sets itself for 1/80 seconds to prevent excessive waiting times during the automatically elocked empty frames while the film winds onto the spool.

Pentax LX has come up with some spectacular innovations. Shutter speeds range from 125 to the world's fastest at 1/2000 of a second.

Another remarkable fact is that, should the battery be dead, the camera remains operational — and not only for one exposure.

Olympus OM-2 and Contax 139 are every bit as innovative as the Nikon F 3, though the Nikon motor with its six exposures per second is faster by one exposure than the Pentax winder.

The automatic superlong exposures of more than two minutes might seem like a bit of technological boasting. Though it is nice to have such a potent camera, the practical value of this long exposure is not very great.

Leitz with its Leica R4 mot shows that German companies can hold their own in this super technology competition. The combination of shutter speed or f-stop automation with selective light measurement is unique.

The SLR programme of Agfa-Gevaert is relatively modest by comparison: the three cameras of the Seletronio series are nevertheless a good return into the arena of Europe's biggest camera maker.

The "modesty" is deliberate because cameras are test balloons for Agfa. Should they prove successful there is still time to become more ambitious.

But the Seletronio series is only a small part of the Agfa programme that includes a mini camera with motor (a mixture between a movie and a still camera), flashlights and pocket cameras that are more than just cheap leisure toys.

But the pieces de resistance is a film: the Agfapen Vario-XL Professional has a flexible speed ranging from 22 to 33 DIN, which is more than tenfold. The finished negative contains no silver and is not black and white but reddish.

Ilford's XP-1's speed ranges from 27 to 33 DIN.

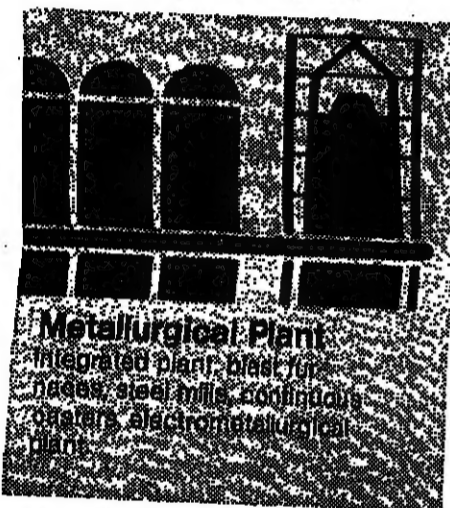
Both these films belong to a new generation. They turn a necessary virtue. By forgoing the silver grain achieves hitherto unheard of sizes.

The beauty of it all is that both films enable the photographer to change the film speed at will. According to Ilford, the grain in overexposed pictures does not become coarser but finer.

Cord Schuster/fr
(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 13 September 1980)

**MANNESMANN
DEMAC**

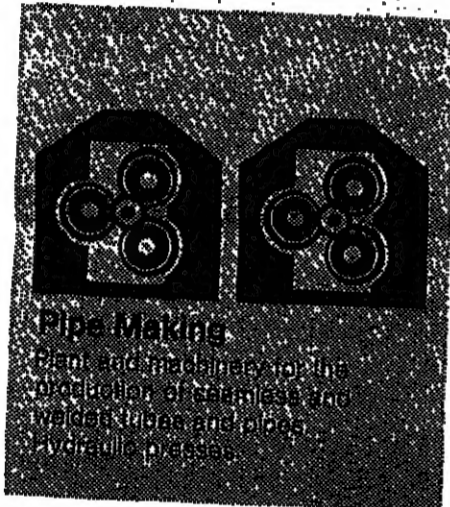
Machinery, Plants and Systems



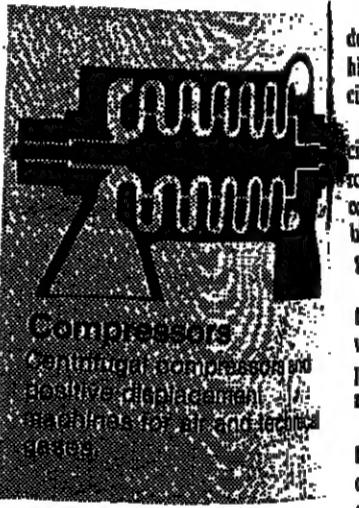
Metallurgical Plant
Integrated plant, blast furnaces, steel mills, continuous casting, electroslag remelting, etc.



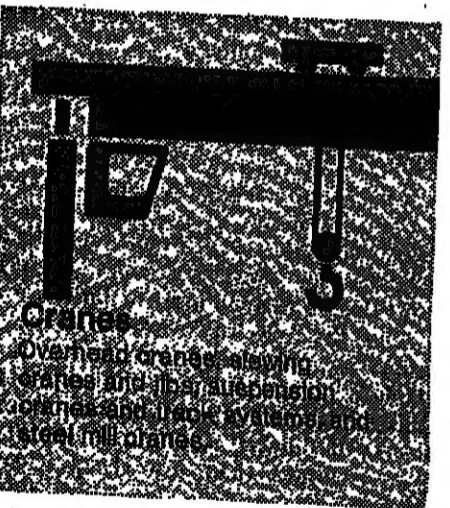
Rolling Mills
Rolling mills for various grades of steel, hot and cold, continuous and intermittent.



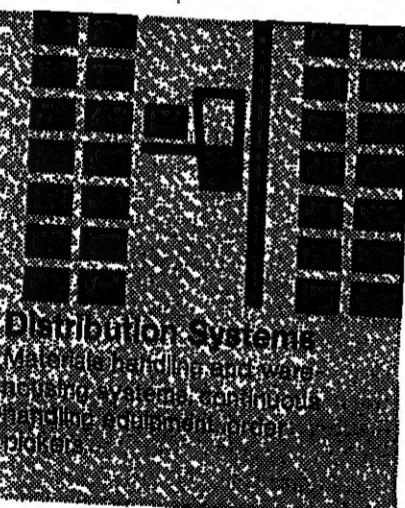
Pipe Making
Cold and hot rolling mills, continuous casting, etc., for the production of pipes and tubes.



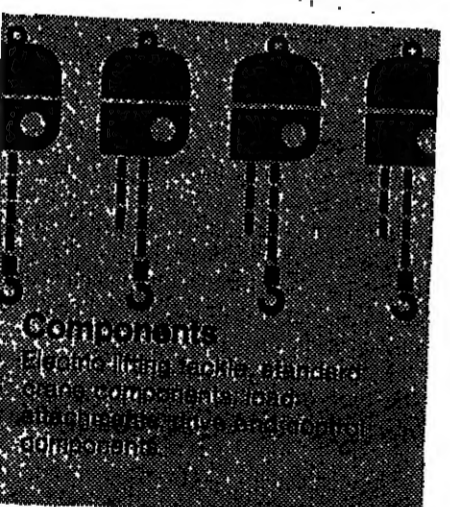
Compressors
Centrifugal compressors for various gases, etc., for the chemical and petrochemical industries.



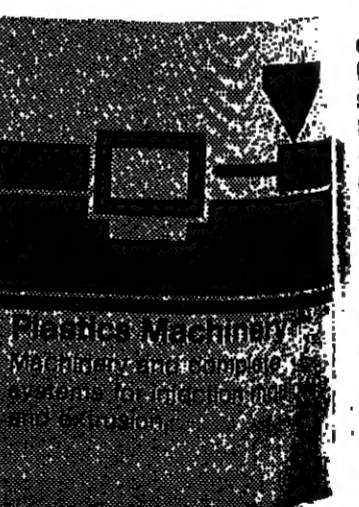
Cranes
Overhead cranes, gantry cranes, etc., for the steel and other industries.



Distribution Systems
Main lines and branch lines for the distribution of gases, liquids, etc.



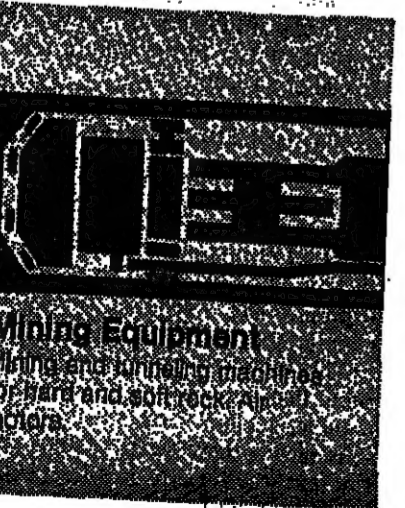
Components
Production of various mechanical components, etc., for the steel and other industries.



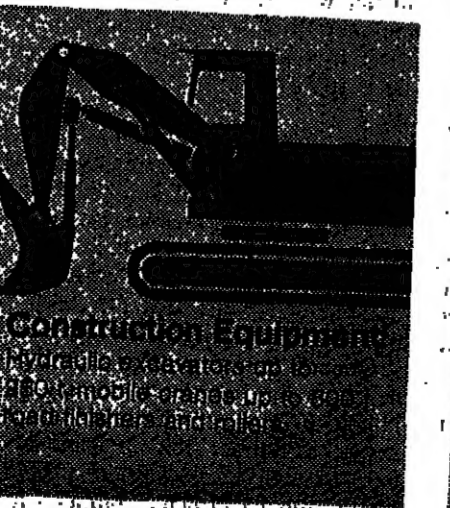
Plastic Machinery
Machines for the production of plastic products, etc., for the chemical and petrochemical industries.



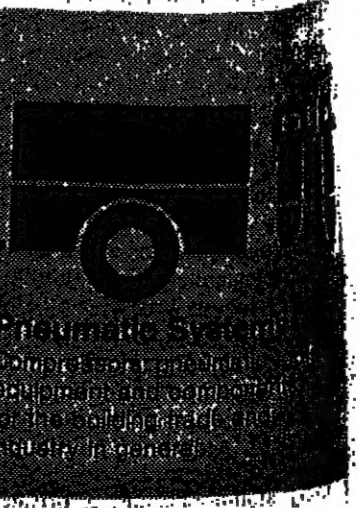
Bulk Handling
Bucket wheel excavators, conveyors, etc., for the handling of bulk materials.



Mining Equipment
Machines for the mining of various minerals, etc., for the steel and other industries.



Construction Equipment
Machines for the construction of various structures, etc., for the steel and other industries.



Pneumatic Systems
Machines for the production of pneumatic systems, etc., for the steel and other industries.

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CIVIL DEFENCE

Lack of shelters 'could hamper military in event of war'

Civil defence in West Germany leaves much to be desired. Civil defence and military experts reckon 97 per cent of the population would be left to their own devices in an emergency. At the present rate there will not be enough air-raid shelters for the public until the year 2,000. Medical care in the event of war could not be guaranteed either.

In the event of war the Bundeswehr may well be left with nothing to defend but gigantic graveyards, pundits warn.

Phrased as a rhetorical query this may sound cynical, but it reflects an alarming dilemma for which politicians and the military must share the blame.

In the event 97 per cent of the population of West Germany would lack even the meagre protection afforded by a place in a scheduled air-raid shelter.

What is more, there would be no guarantee of medical care for large numbers of casualties or even of food supplies to urban areas.

Since the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan politicians in Bonn have again seen fit to argue the case for better civil defence.

In the past this second mainstay of defence as a whole has lagged sadly behind in both political priority and financial allocations.

In the heyday of détente, demands for civil defence were reduced to a back-seat role. The mere demand, it was argued, could be rated a provocation by East bloc countries with which Bonn was negotiating.

Cost-effect analyses were compiled on the assumption that there would be no war, while others argued that effective protection was impossible given the advanced state of weapons technology.

Such assessments are gradually losing their force of persuasion. Even neutral countries such as Switzerland and Sweden boast first-rate civil defence systems.

Neither, unlike the Federal Republic of Germany, need automatically expect to be involved in a war. But both have stepped up civil defence precautions as a token of defence preparedness.

The same is true, to a certain extent, of the Soviet Union and, to a lesser degree, of the Warsaw Pact states.

According to US intelligence sources there are 35,000 bunker installations in the military sector and 75 regional seats of government in the Moscow area alone.

The Soviet Union is said to have built gigantic air-raid shelters to house 60m people and, to have built reinforced foodgrain warehouses on the outskirts of all major cities.

It is also claimed to have made provision for alternative ordnance factories and all manner of other precautions.

West Germany's geopolitical location is self-explanatory. It has 1,700km of frontier in common with member-countries of the Warsaw Pact, not to mention an open sea border on its northern flank.

This consists of about 300km of Baltic seaboard and about 500km of North Sea, to which must be added a narrow east-west panhandle of about 125km from the Elbe to the North Sea at Hamburg and about 225km from the East German to the French border in the Rhine-Main-Neckar region.

Demographic patterns would also be

to West Germany's detriment in the event of hostilities. In 11 conurbations 45 per cent of the population live in an area that accounts for a mere seven per cent of the country's surface area.

Assuming the Warsaw Pact were to launch a conventional attack using forces stationed within a reasonable distance of the intra-German border, Nato would be left with but a few hours in which to take counter-measures.

Soviet targets range far and wide, to judge by Warsaw Pact exercises. They extend up to 1,000km from the initial front and are expected to be reached in between a week and a fortnight.

Assuming the invading forces to enjoy 6-1 superiority, Nato plans are based on the assumption that the Warsaw Pact will initially advance 30km a day and only be brought to a halt once it has gained a clear 100km or so.

In the 60s Western defence planning was based on the assumption that in view of Soviet military doctrine and the deployment of Nato forces there would be zones that were in special danger in the event of an attack on the Federal Republic.

They included the entire west bank of the Rhine, on which Nato forces were to fall back and establish lines of defence.

This concept has been scrapped for the past 15 years. It would have meant giving up virtually without a fight a third of the surface area of West Germany inhabited by 20m people.

Nato forces are currently detailed to start fighting back as near the country's eastern border as possible, which would mean the civilian population bearing the brunt of fighting.

Nato planning presupposes the civilian population would stay put in the event of hostilities.

This stay-put principle is based on the experience that people who flee in panic from areas they know are usually in greater danger than would otherwise be the case.

Besides, large-scale refugee treks would hamper the operational potential of armed forces.

Parallel drawn with France in 1940

Military pundits now feel, for instance, that the course of the 10 May to 22 June 1940 blitzkrieg against France was largely determined by uncontrolled French refugee movements.

Refugees streamed away from the front and collided head-on, as it were, with units of the armed forces as they were drafted in to the action.

The current Bonn government, like its predecessors, fully endorses the stay-put principle and reaffirms it time and again. Yet it simultaneously undermines it by not doing enough towards civil defence.

At talks between heads of department in the National Security Council it has repeatedly been pointed out that the principle's feasibility depends to a large extent on adequate air-raid precautions.

Then, and then only, could the civilian population be convinced that staying put was their best prospect of survival in the event of attack.

West Germany's early warning facilities are without equal in training and performance, but they alone are inadequate. What use is a warning in time to someone who then has no idea where he might seek protection?

Air-raid shelter construction, both public and private, ought thus to be a key feature of civil defence.

A frequent counter-argument is that in the nuclear age air-raid shelters are pointless. This presupposes that nuclear weapons would be used as a matter of course in the event of war.

Military men, however, assume that in the early stages of hostilities conventional weapons alone could be employed.

Advocates of air-raid shelters argue that in the Second World War cities that had not taken appropriate precautions suffered grave losses in air raids.

Stuttgart, for instance, was a city where air-raid shelters had been built. Its population of half a million was at the receiving end of 25,000 tonnes of bombs, yet there were only 4,000 deaths.

Nearby Pforzheim, on the other hand, with a population of 80,000 was unprotected. In Second World War aerial bombardment with approximately 1,600 tonnes of bombs 17,000 Pforzheim people lost their lives.

Even in the nuclear age the provision of air-raid shelters is most important, their advocates claim, though full protection is technically out of the question.

Assuming nuclear devices were aimed at selected targets in West Germany, air-raid shelters would retain a survival capability — if only because but a few areas would be directly hit.

An aggressor would naturally be interested in keeping nuclear bombardment to a minimum since the risk of contamination boomerang would be largely incalculable.

This is a reasonable assumption that is a far cry from pseudo-scientific estimates of the consequences of nuclear war in terms of megatonnes and overkill.

The conclusions reached from Nato exercises have for 20 years underlined the need for air-raid shelter construction.

Generals, it is only fair to add, seem only to speak out on the need for civil defence once they have retired. Until then they tend to concentrate on boosting purely military potential.

The truth is that they are afraid mobilisation and troop build-up for defence purposes would be seriously hampered by uncontrolled, panic-stricken refugee treks unless air-raid shelters were available.

Unless shelters were provided, it is further argued, civilian casualties would be so high that hospital and field ambulance services would no longer be able to handle them.

Medical care, professional organisations point out, could only be ensured provided doctors, vets, chemists auxiliary staff and first aid volunteers were available in sufficient numbers.

What is more, they would need to be integrated in peacetime in a public health system devised to ensure adequate basic medical care for both civilian and military personnel in the event of an emergency.

So far the politicians responsible have

fielded poor arguments why they have been unable to draft a health package as part of emergency provisions.

Yet in the event of war or tension possibly leading to war some legal basis or other would be essential to ensure a health service, and it would necessarily entail drafting qualified staff for duty where they were needed and imposing controls on hospital organisation.

How, military planners wonder, are service and police personnel to be motivated to perform their allotted tasks when they know that their families are exposed unprotected to the full rigours of hostilities?

Take, for instance, the police. At present strength they would hardly be in a position to maintain law and order in the event of war, let alone to prevent uncontrolled refugee treks.

In the past the Bonn government earmarked strictly limited funds towards shelter construction, but this little was scrapped by the terms of the 1975 Budget (Structural Improvement) Act.

In 1979 a fresh allocation of DM42.6m was made, while this year DM59.1m was to have been invested in air-raid shelters. But Finance Minister Hans Matthöfer has already announced cuts of up to DM9.4m.

Bonn has so far provided air-raid shelter accommodation for 1.9m people and refuses to make the provision of air-raid shelters mandatory.

Yet it is keen to encourage private construction of shelters, providing subsidies and tax incentives of other kinds towards building them.

Volunteer builders hard to find

This approach runs counter to experience since the 50s that people are markedly lacking in voluntary enthusiasm to saddle themselves with the expense of building air-raid shelters.

What is more, the Bonn government does nothing to encourage others by taking action of its own. In 1979 subsidies towards the cost of building private air-raid shelters amounted to about half the investment in autobahn toilet facilities.

Experts have long maintained that Bonn ought to make the provision of air-raid shelters mandatory. At the present rate of construction there will not be enough shelters until the year 2600.

Prominent politicians have their own special bunker in the Elbfeld hills, near Bonn. But apart from them only about three per cent of the population would currently find a place in a shelter.

Funds are so scarce that this year the puny civil defence estimates have been further pruned to help finance aid to Turkey and arms and ammunition for the Bundeswehr.

Air-raid shelters are not alone in having been hit by cost-cutting. This autumn civil defence training courses hitherto financed by the Bonn government will have to be scrapped unless a miracle happens; regional civil defence authorities report.

This is by no means the only instance of shortsighted planning. Take emergency plans to ensure food supplies, for instance.

They are aimed at ensuring that people in build-up areas can be fed hot meals for a fortnight from stockpiles of canned food. But stockpiles have been run down in recent years and are only slowly being replaced.

Manfred Schell
(Die Welt, 2 September 1980)

Sociologist and social philosopher Jürgen Habermas has been awarded the DM50,000 Theodor W. Adorno Prize.

The ceremony took place in Frankfurt's St. Paul's Church on the birthday of the head of the famous Frankfurt School after whom the prize is named.

Habermas, the spiritual father of the leftist student movement and one of the moving spirits behind the universities reform, has been a controversial figure here in Germany.

No other thinker has had such an influence on the public as the neo-Marxist Habermas.

Many key terms in the intellectual discussion of the past years have been coined by his critical social theory which has drawn heavily on Adorno and Marcuse.

The volume *Stichworte zur geistigen Situation der Zeit*, 1979, (catchphrases on the intellectual situation of our time) which was compiled by him bears witness to this.

He is usually the main speaker at congresses of sociologists, political scientists and philosophers for example at the forthcoming sociologists' congress in Bremen.

Habermas, the present director of the Max Planck Institute for Sociology in Starnberg, Bavaria, is considering accepting an invitation to America.

Berkeley philosophers and sociologists have unanimously nominated him while Munich University has not even been prepared to offer him an honorary professorship.

Born on 18 June 1929, the son of an upper middle class family, Habermas studied philosophy under Nicolai Hartmann in Göttingen and under Erich Rothacker in Bonn.

Heidegger was the most influential philosopher of the time. In 1954, Habermas graduated with a dissertation on Schelling. But the political naïveté of such thinkers failed to satisfy him, and so he supplemented his philosophical studies by delving deeply into Marx.

After graduating, he initially worked as a free lancer for various newspapers and was later employed at the Frankfurt Institute for Social Research, headed by Max Horkheimer and Adorno.

Here, he devoted himself primarily to empirical sociology. Frankfurt refused to give him a professorship. He did not receive a chair until the Marxist political

Honour for historian

This year's Alexander Petrovskij Karpinskij Prize of the Hamburg-based Freiherr vom Stein Foundation has been awarded to a Leningrad University Professor.

Boris Borisovitch Piotrowski, Professor for History of the Old Orient, is the director-general of the Leningrad Brezhevetz and member of the Soviet Academy of Science.

The DM30,000 prize to be formally awarded at the Leningrad Academy of Science is linked with a scholarship and is awarded annually for outstanding work in the Soviet Union — especially in the fields of science and the humanities.

The prize is named after the Russian geologist and geographer Karpinskij (1846-1936).

Piotrowski has made a name for himself with his archaeological research into the high civilisations ranging from the Caucasus Mountains to the upper reaches of the Nile.

dpa
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 10 September 1980)

AWARDS

Habermas, spiritual father of student left



Jürgen Habermas (Photo: dpa)

scientist Wolfgang Abendroth accepted Habermas' pioneering work *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit*, 1961, (structural change of the public).

He had been put forward for this chair by important Heidegger disciples Hans-Georg Gadamer and Karl Löwith.

Appointed in 1964, Habermas left Frankfurt in 1971 to become co-director of the Max Planck Institute for Research

into the Living Conditions in a Scientific-Technological World, founded by Carl-Friedrich von Weizsäcker.

The problem of *Theorie und Praxis* (theory and practice) has been a pivotal issue for Habermas. He has clearly felt the 'impotence' of traditional reason which can no longer justify its normative terms such as justice, humanity and beauty.

Philosophy cannot achieve self-realisation by dissolving into a theory of science. The fundamental issues of practical philosophy that concern all people, i.e. the questions as to the "good life", cannot be answered by pointing to the exigencies of a technological world.

Habermas gave a foundation to his thesis that technical insights and practical interests serve the freedom of man in two widely-read works: *Technik und Wissenschaft als Ideologie* (technology and science as ideology) and *Erkenntnis und Interesse* (insight and interest), both published in 1968, at the height of the student movement.

In his interpretation, progress in controlling nature presupposes the necessity of a gradual elimination of the rule of people over people. Once this has been achieved, social equality of opportunity, nonviolent discussion and critical reflection can be fought for.

But all this was not fast enough for

the students and large parts of the artists among them became alienated from their guru.

Undaunted, Habermas continued to pin his hopes on the "communicative" active people who come to terms with each other sensibly and casually.

He has tried to find out under what conditions of reality such a "discourse" can take place. He holds that only cooperation, with science, can get anywhere. In doing so, he draws on American linguistics and on the development psychology.

The aim in the life of all people, says, is to agree with their fellow and thus become linguistically and capable of acting.

In his book *Zur Rekonstruktion der historischen Materialismus*, 1974, the reconstruction of historic materialism Habermas endeavours to lead a distance to a historic-materialistic theory through the results of sociology, economics, ethnology, psychology and political science.

His leftist critics see this as a return from the Frankfurt School, that has happened is simply that Habermas has not taken their merely social criticism a step further.

The Marxist philosopher Habermas a sociologist and an individual scientist of deeper insight. The considerable financial means placed at his disposal in Starnberg (and soon in Munich) by the Max Planck Society are being used for his epochal attempt at last to reconcile critical philosophy and empirical science. Their traditional separation has become a danger to the world.

Wolfgang Schirmacher
(Bayerische Nachrichten, 10 September 1980)

OBITUARY

Robert Minder, story-teller with a scientific approach

It was unthinkable for him to look at literature in isolation. He therefore mistrusted any isolated method, using any approach that presented itself. What mattered for him was the co-existence of disciplines and methods. He was not between but above the fronts in Germanistics.

Since he loved the concrete, he stuck closely to his subject, revelling in facts and details.

But he also had enough detachment to get an overview of the scene and to uncover the intellectual contexts with their many ramifications and interplays.

Minder treated all literary works as the products of their time. Yet each was unique as a work of art.

Minder, who had lived and taught in Paris for decades, did not become widely known in Germany until the 1960s. It was primarily his books *Kultur und Literatur in Deutschland und Frankreich*, 1962, (culture and literature in Germany and France) and *Dichter in der Gesellschaft*, 1966, (the writer in society) that earned him instant recognition (and several prizes).

His essays on Schiller, Hölderlin, Jean Paul, Hebel, Fontane, Döblin and Benn caused a minor sensation. Minder had a talent for arousing curiosity. Having read his essays the reader felt a desire to read the authors dealt with.

Referring to his lecture on "How to become an historian of literature and to what end" he said that it was "a mini confession mitigated by its entertaining tone."

In fact, all his works are (more or less well camouflaged) confessions. But all of them also want to entertain the reader.

He once boldly announced: "Our muse should be Scheherazade." He acted accordingly: he was not a schoolmaster but an entertaining storyteller.

His style was flexible and poignant, perhaps best described as feuilletonist.

But even the strictest of Germans had to admit that his feuilletonist was never detracted from his scientific thoroughness. On the contrary, his precise thoroughness enabled him to "stand above it all merrily." He made it his own himself so that his readers should have it easy.

Minder's best works are both entertaining and informative and, indeed, pleasing. He never tired of showing and explaining German traits to the French and French traits to the Germans.

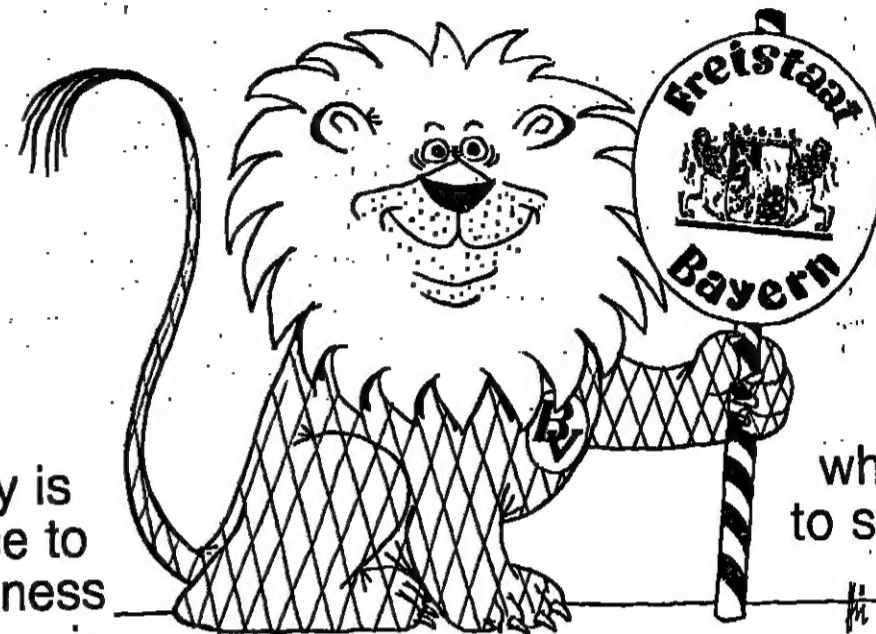
He always wanted to be a mediator between Germany and France, between art and society, between literature and everyday life and, of course, between the present and the past.

Even as an old man and notwithstanding severe illness he retained his interest in everything new and commented on it with great passion.

We can all learn much from the books of the merry Alsatian scientist and entertaining Germanist Robert Minder.

Marcel Reich-Ranicki
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung und Kölnische Rundschau, 12 September 1980)

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■ MEDICINE

Modern conditions help premature babies develop normally

Premature babies develop just as well as babies who are born after the normal incubation period, thanks to modern medicine.

Only children that have had inadequate nourishment during pregnancy — and that could not make up for it after birth by above average growth of the head, and hence the brain — are slower in developing and have lower intelligence.

This is the interim conclusion of a long-term study by Ingeborg Brandt of Bonn University's Paediatric Clinic.

The study, supported by the Thyssen Foundation, encompassed children from birth to the age of six. All children weighing less than 1,500 grams at birth were considered premature for the purpose of this survey.

The aim was to develop so-called "norms" for a child's development and to establish the point at which it should



be capable of performing certain motoric and intellectual tasks.

Of course, such criteria cannot be rigid averages because the development of individual children varies too widely.

Thus, for instance, it took a year before all normally born children learned to sit unsupported. The time lag in the development of premature babies was the same.

As a result, the study established the time it takes each group of children under review to achieve a specific performance.

The variables must be taken into account by a doctor if he is to differentiate between normal and pathological late development.

According to Ingeborg Brandt, this great time lag also shows how difficult it is to draw a clear line between the two groups. It is therefore wrong to speak of a pathological development. Instead, such terms as good and poor development should be applied.

Unsupported sitting, coordinated crawling and, as a final phase, unsupported walking are milestones in the motoric development of an infant.

Half of the children in the survey — regardless whether premature or full-term — were capable of sitting at seven months, they were nine months when they learned to crawl and 13 months when they took their first unsupported steps.

Another important criterion of development is the age at which an infant learns to use his hands. The reason for this is that the development of the ability to grip is closely linked with the development of the brain.

The ability of a child to seize upon an object with the hand as a whole, the moment at which it learns to move the index finger by itself and the time at which it learns the pincer function (i.e. the picking up of objects between thumb and index finger) all indicate the development of its brain. This also per-

mits the early diagnosis of minor disabilities.

Along with these neurological and motoric surveys, Maria Regina Schröder made psychological tests to establish the degree of development and the IQ of premature and full-term babies.

Here, too, there was little difference between the two groups. Premature babies that were born with a normal weight for their particular stage of development had the same IQ as their full-term counterparts.

Even premature babies that had inadequate nourishment during pregnancy made up for lost time by an above average growth of the head. Their IQ (107 to 114) differed little from that of the full-termers (106 to 115).

Development disorders occurred only with those premature children whose head circumference failed to normalise after birth because the human brain achieves 95 per cent of its adult size by the age of 3 years and one month.

If this decisive development phase is hampered by undernourishment, the

Doctors seek answers to psychology of sterility

There have been many attempts to build up a dependable statistical picture of why people suffer from psychosomatic sterility.

But, for methodological reasons, none has been successful.

Medicine must look at psychological and physical processes together without emphasising one or the other, Dr Alexander Teichmann, of Göttingen, told the 6th International Congress on Psychosomatic Obstetrics and Gynaecology in Berlin.

Dr Teichmann reported on a study he made at the Göttingen University Gynaecological Clinic.

Of the couples (a total of 256 people) who made use of his sterility counselling service in 1978/79, eight per cent had organic, 51 per cent hormonal and 36 per cent andrological (affecting the fertility of the man) disorders.

The remaining 25 per cent had no detectable organic disorder.

Dr Teichmann stressed that such sta-

mental and motoric abilities of a can be impaired.

This has also been confirmed numerous surveys of women and children in Third World famine areas.

Of the premature babies in Brandt's survey, 20 per cent had such damage and their IQ dropped to 106 in the first year to 90 in the year where it remained.

These children had problems in standing contexts, they found it difficult to concentrate, were easily tired and tired fast.

But other surveys indicate that disabilities can be offset in the course of further development if the child grows up in a favourable environment that promotes its mental activities.

The effects of the social environment have been proved by many studies. Bonn researchers will carefully examine the individual course of each child's development to get a better idea of its environmental effects.

Moreover, they want to determine the sequence in which the various steps of development follow upon each other. Only once this sequence is known it is possible to determine what a handicapped child is unable to perform and selectively promote its particular function.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 10 September 1980)



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(Der Tagesspiegel, 9 September 1980)

Michael Segbers/dpa
(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 11 September 1980)

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